5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

526 a ball game, pillma, in which the ball of rush was thrown from under the thigh and volleyed by hand.

525 The two most important games of chance were the bean game (llique, lloqn, lloq) played with 8 to 12 beans, each painted black on one side, the beans themselves being "talked to" when thrown; and kechu, played with five-faced triangular dice of wood or bone.

Both of these last two games were distinctly gambling games. Gambling occurred, too, in connection with pillma, and among the modern *Araucanians*, who took over Spanish playing cards. Early

•[524]

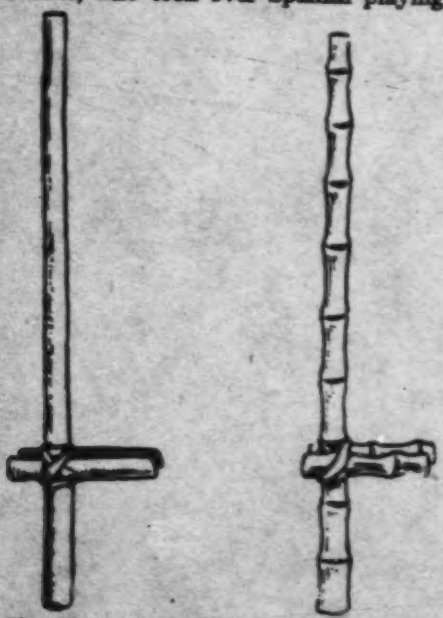

FIGURE 82.—*Mapuche* stilts. (After Manquilef, 1914, fig. 3.)

records of gambling in Bascuñan (1863, p. 61), Ovalle (1888, 12:163), and Rosales (1877–78, 1:169–70) suggest that *Araucanian* gambling was aboriginal, at least not derived from the Spaniards. At any rate, since the early 17th century, the *Mapuche* are consistently described as inveterate gamblers.

857 524 Among the many types of play common among the children were wrestling, foot races, top spinning by hand, swinging, hide and seek, and two games (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:552, 748–49) resembling our jacks and blindman's buff, both the latter suggestive of European influence. Stilts (fig. 82), mentioned as early as the middle 18th century by Febrés (1882, s. v. thenticahue; cf. Manquilef, 1914, pp. 275–76; Félix José, 1916, 1:220), may be native. Havestadt (1883, 2:648; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 157–58) mentions a guessing game in

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which only the first syllable of a word was pronounced by one player and the other players had to fill out the whole word. (For detailed treatment of games and sports, cf. Manquilef, 1914.)

Tobacco.—Smoking as a recreational habit appears to be a quite recent development among the *Araucanians*. Bascuñan (1863, p. 160) mentions smoking as part of the shaman's ceremonial; Barlaeus (1647, p. 269), the blowing of smoke from the mouth and nose to Pillan. (See account of Pillan cult under Religion, infra.) Havestadt (1883, 2:746) reports the ceremonial fumigation of hockey sticks with tobacco smoke, and (2:663) the use of tobacco at the ngillatun rite; Olivares (1874, p. 493) and Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 138), fumigation by the shaman. But the early sources do not, to the writer's knowledge, record tobacco smoking as a secular habit. Pipes were of stone, clay, and wood. Monitor-type pipes were common. The Indians of the archipelago of Chiloé used a plant substitute for tobacco when the latter was lacking. Tobacco was mixed with the bark of *Aristotelia maqui* and of other plants (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 278). The native name for tobacco is petrem (Félix José, 1916, 1:369), pitrén (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:616), pûthem (Febrés, 1882), ptem (L. de Valdivia, 1887). The theory of its derivation from *Guaraní* pety does not seem probable (Lenz, l.c.).

There was no snuffing or chewing of tobacco; recently, old or married women but not single women smoked sometimes (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 278, 280).

The use of *Datura stramonium* as a narcotic has been mentioned supra under Education, (p. 734).

Intoxicating beverages.—Heavy drinking is consistently attributed to the *Araucanians* from the times of the earliest writers, such as P. de Valdivia, Ercilla, Mariño de Lovera, Oña, González de Nájera, and Bascuman, down to the present day. The heaviest drinking was done at the feasts, but according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:155) some of the *Araucanians* drank only chicha and never water even in their own homes. Fermented beverages were made from more than a dozen different kinds of grains and seeds, berries and fruits, and tubers. (Cf. list in Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:189–90.) Among grains and seeds so used were maize, quinoa, Araucaria nuts, and later, wheat and barley; among the berries and fruits, molle (*Schinus latifolius*), maki (*Aristotelia maqui*), myrtle berries, strawberries (*Fragaria chilensis*), etc., and in post-Contact days, apples, pears, and quinces; and potatoes. Favorite drinks among these were those from maize, strawberries, and apples. Making fermented beverages was the woman's task. In the preparation of them from grains, part of the process consisted of mastication of the flour. The flour so saturated with saliva was put in water and stirred, and the water then put in the pot and heated.

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Spinning the top: 1, Winding the cord about the surface of the top. 2, Spinning the top. 3, The boy has slid his hand under the spinning top and now lets it continue to spin in his hand.

[p. 76(c)]

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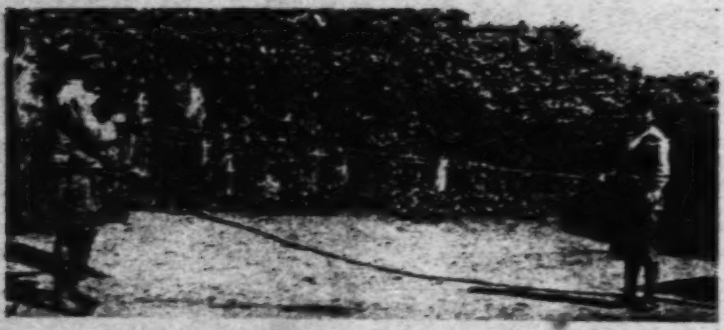

[4M]

Tops (Alepúe): 1. Twisting a cord for a top. 2, 3. Playing a competitive game with tops.

[p. 76(0)]

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GAMES

During recesses at school and at fiestas children engaged in group playing. Small boys and girls together played a game of tag they call cholo (mixed-blood). The "it" tags a child and calls "cholo." Then the cholo is "it." Older girls played tag, also, designating a tree as a goal of safety—anyone touching the tree could not be tagged. 524 ●

Girls 14 to 16 years of age tossed from one to the other (anticlockwise) while sitting on the lawn, a handkerchief into which several knots had been tied. Other girls of the same age were often seen sitting in groups in the sun, chatting.

The favorite pastime of boys 11 to 15 years of age was spinning tops (pl. 16, *2* and *3*). Every boy owned a top and the cord with which he spun it—in all probability he had made both. A 12-year-old boy demonstrated the making of a top (pls. 13-15). He whittled with a knife, then chopped down all sides of a 2¾-inch cube of luma in line with the grain. "I like luma best," he remarked, "because it is hard wood." All cutting was done away from the body. When the cube showed the shape of a top, he filed it down on a steel file which he supported between his chest and some wires on a post. This done, he inspected the surface for places that would give the top imbalance and then filed these down. He hammered a shingle nail into the point of the tip and filed off its head to a dull point. He now wound a cord (anticlockwise) about the surface of the top, from the point upward, released the top, and it spun. "Bueno! Bueno!" all boys, nonparticipant observers in the making of the top, called out. Smaller boys had watched intently every step in the making, and had been helpful in handing implements needed. It took 45 minutes to make the top. The same boy demonstrated the making of a cord (pl. 16, *1*). He and a schoolmate each held the end of a cord taut between them as they stood some distance apart. They then twisted the cord, each one in the opposite direction from the other. When sufficiently twisted, ends were brought together and the cord allowed to twirl itself. Cords released when flour sacks are ripped were favored by boys for making top cords. No boy had used plant fibers in making cords. "But do not use fiscka, if you use any; it is too coarse and rough." 524 857

When playing with tops a boy may spin his on the ground, or he may slide his hand under it while it spins and let it continue to spin in the palm of his hand. One top, after spinning 15 seconds on the ground, spun another 30 seconds in the hand. Often boys play a competitive game, the goal being to see whose top will spin longest. Seven boys competed one day; the winning top spun 50 seconds.

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524 Another competitive game played with tops is called juego al gallo (play of the rooster). Four boys, 11 and 12 years of age, paired up to oppose each other in playing it. They drew three parallel lines two meters apart. On the middle line they placed a peso. Each boy now took turns, sides alternating. The player spun his top, slid his hand under it, and dashed the top still spinning, onto the peso. If the top sent the peso onto or beyond either of the other lines, a point was scored for his side. If the peso got beyond either of these two lines, it was brought back by hand to the nearest line. The next boy in dashing his top onto the peso had to send the peso to or across the middle line. Always the peso had to be sent two meters distance in order to count. No definite number of successes completed a game. After playing 15 minutes, one side had four counts and the other, three.

Boys 11 to 15 years of age also play a competitive game with marbles, called jugar de los bochitas (to play at little holes). Two or four boys play the game. Each boy has one marble. Most marbles used by boys I observed were made of clay found in the area—"my mother let me have the clay she had left after she made ollas"; several boys used perfectly round stones for which they had searched the beach of the Pacific; a few boys had a factory-made marble. The objective of the game is to land the marble in the farthest of three holes, made in a row, 1½ meters apart, by a boy rotating on his heel. Each boy in turn shot his marble by hand. Once the marble landed in the farthest hole, the player could return by landing his marble in the middle hole and then the hole nearest the starting point. A player was permitted to shoot another player's marble away from a hole provided his marble landed within a handstretch of the competitive player's marble. The boy who returned his marble to the starting point first won the game.

526 Alepúe schoolboys 9 and 10 years old played the competitive Chilean game of futbal as best they could. Five boys opposed six. The goal of each team was a line between a sapling in the school yard and a 3-yard-long stick planted by the boys. Their ball was made of cochayuyo, a Pacific Ocean alga. Whenever the umpire announced that a ball had passed the goal, there was much clapping of hands by the winning side. It was a signal, too, for all boys to drop on the grass to relax.

524 Until recently, boys in Alepúe area played a competitive game with quoits known as rai huela; today, it is generally played only by young men and older ones, and is played for stakes. A non-Araucanian teacher explained: "When I came here, 10 years ago, quoits were

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hammered out of rock; even schoolchildren made them and small boys also played the game. Today when only metal quoits are used small boys find it tiring to play very long; these metal quoits are heavy." Two, three, or four play a game. Two young men, 22 and 26 years of age, were seen playing it as a pastime on a Sunday afternoon. The goal was a line, about a meter in length, drawn in the sand with a little stick. So that it could be seen at a distance, the stick was planted in the middle of the line. About 50 meters from the goal, the players drew another line—this was the base. Each player had two trapizoidal-shaped metal quoits, approximately 2 inches in diameter at the bottom, 1½ inches at the top, and ⅛ inch in thickness. Each player's two quoits had identical numerals engraved in them so as to be easily identified by the owner. One player took his position at the base; the other at the goal, but merely as an interested observer—he could have stood anywhere. The one at the base pitched his quoits toward the goal, one at a time, and then he and the other player exchanged positions. The second player now pitched his two quoits toward the goal, and immediately went to see where they had landed. Scores were now counted. A quoit that touched the goal scored two points—a player could, therefore, have scored four points. Since the two men were opponents, the lower score was subtracted from the higher, and the difference recorded to the credit of the winner. Quite evidently, then, if no quoit touched the goal, there was no score to record; if all four quoits touched the line, scores canceled each other, and again there was no score to record. Whoever scored the largest number at the end of the game had won. Playing might have ended at any time. Scores on this Sunday afternoon were marked in the ground nearby by an onlooker, a young boy.

During an interview in a ruka, a 5-year-old boy played with metal quoits smaller than the above. He cleared a little space for himself by shoving aside all objects, carried a low bench to one end of the space, sat on it, and then threw the quoits toward his goal at the other end of the space.

A football game, noncompetitive and nonscoring, called pilota de cochayuyo, is a favorite sport of schoolchildren in Alepúe area. A ball of cochayuyo has to be kept in action by being kicked. When the ball is kicked, everyone runs to where it is expected to land, so as to be the one to give it the next kick. Older schoolboys play it togther, and so do older girls; sometimes older girls and smaller boys together play it. At a fiesta young men were seen playing it. It was not unusual to see schoolboys squatted on their haunches before the opening of school in the morning, weaving for themselves a ball of cochayuyo.

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opening of a meeting. Each had four Chilean coins, 20-centavo pieces. 525
Generally, 10 or more coins are used. One man shook his four coins in the hollow of his joined hands, and asked his opponent, "Caro o sello" (face or seal)? (The face of Bernardo O'Higgins, the Chilean hero, is on one side of the coin; the words "veinte centavos" on the other.) His opponent answered, "Caro," whereupon the man threw the coins into the air. As soon as they landed on the ground, both men pointed at the ones that had turned up caro, and the opponent picked them up. He now shook his four coins. They did this alternately for some time. Other men who in the meantime had arrived for the meeting became nonparticipant observers.

Two games of chance, according to Cooper's source, were the bean game (llique, lüqn, lüq) played with 8 to 12 beans, each painted black on one side, and kechu, played with 5-faced triangular dice of wood or bone (1946, p. 940).

TOYS, IMITATIVE PLAY, PETS

Most Araucanian children had few toys, if any, in the early days; 524 857
only a few have them today. A child that is able to walk plays with sticks and stones that lie around; sometimes with chicks and kittens. Toddlers were seen making piles of little stones. "When I was a little boy," said a 45-year-old man, "an older person carved a pair of oxen and a little oxcart out of wood for us to play with; very few children had any toys at all. I have eight children: none has had a toy." In the yard of a ruka I observed a little boy and his two little sisters playing with a miniature oxcart made by an older brother (pl. 10, 1).

Dolls were not commonly part of the Araucanian child's life, and only rarely does a little girl have one today. A 40-year-old woman had had a rag doll when a little girl; her mother had made it "out of a piece of cloth; it had only a head; the rest of the cloth hung down. Some Mapuche girls today have the same kind of doll." A few schoolgirls had a doll or had had one when small; one had been cut out of cardboard, two had been rag dolls, and four had been bought in a store. One girl had molded clay into a figurine, "like a little doll"; her sister had molded a flower. "Mama had clay left after making ollas."

Schoolboys had made their own playthings. They molded marbles of clay, wove balls of cochayuyo, and whittled tops out of wood. A 15-year-old boy made himself a bull roarer (runrun) of a pop-bottle cap. He flattened the edge over the cork part by hammering it on a

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rock, examined it to make certain that the edge was round, pounded two holes close to the center but a little apart making it look like a two-holed button. Then he ran a cord through each hole, shoved the cap to the middle, held both ends of the cord and swung the cap in circles with one hand, pulled the string taut, released it, and the cap buzzed.

A child learned to make playthings by observing older children doing so. When a boy wove a ball of cochayuyo, smaller boys sat around him concentrating on what he was doing; when an older boy whittled a top, they got close enough to see, even lying on their stomachs in order to see better each step in the making.

Imitating elders in various activities is one of the playtime occupations of children. Playing at riding horseback is a favorite pastime for small children. In the yard of one ruka, a 5-year-old boy and his 2-year-old brother straddled a young slender branch, which represented the horse. The older boy had stripped it of all leaves and little twigs. "This is a white horse," he said. They paced about the yard for a little while, then the older boy switched back of himself with a stick as does a rider on a horse. Both boys now galloped. With every switching the "horse" received, the two jolted along faster. Soon they slowed up, paced a little, suddenly twirled around a few times, and then paced about the yard again. Their 19-year-old sister remarked, "My older sister and I played riding horseback just like that, when we were little." Later the older boy rode a heavier stick alone: he paced, galloped, and twirled as before. Another frequent pastime is for an older child to be the "horse" for a younger brother or sister—the younger one straddling the back of the older one who is on hands and feet. Children were also seen playing at lassoing, one being the man and the other the horse.

A teacher told of preadolescent boys playing getting drunk, becoming intoxicated, and then having a fist fight. "This is exactly what they see the men do at every fiesta, at threshing time, and when a ruka is built," the teacher remarked. "They played this in my kitchen on a rainy day last week."

Playing house is a common pastime for preadolescent girls. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "From my window I often observe schoolgirls playing house—there are fathers and mothers and children. Visitors come, riding other children as horses. Clover leaves are served as meals, and water, supposedly yerba maté, is drunk from seashells. Sometimes I am invited and I drink their water and eat their clover." A Boroa herbalist said: "I have never seen a Mapuche child play with a doll or a toy of any kind, but I have often seen little

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brothers and sisters build little ruka together and play house in them while they tend the family's sheep or pigs, keeping them out of grain fields. If the herding is done close to another ruka, the children of that ruka join in the house playing." Little girls also build little ruka at home and play house in them. 524 857

During a noon hour schoolgirls 10 and 13 years of age played going on a visit. Three groups, three, four, and five girls, respectively, each prepared a habitation by clearing a place of grass and stones between two pine trees that stood in a row on the playground. Next, the girls scampered around to get material for their fireplaces—handfuls of dry grass, chips off fence posts, and little pieces of wood that lay around. "This is just like our fireplace at home," remarked one of the girls. She had laid the grass in the center of the cleared space, the chips on top of the grass, and then the pieces of wood in the position of spokes on a wheel on top of the chips. They then collected large mushrooms that grew under the pine trees. "This is our bread." All was ready now. Three small girls, who had been told to while away time at a distance, were invited to come in for a visit. Each group had a visitor then. "They are our visitors; we are playing visiting."

In general, children are fond of animals and treat them kindly. If a child has a pet, it is usually a chick or a kitten; less often a lamb. Dogs are not pets, not even of older boys—older boys favor a horse. In fact, neither children nor adults like dogs to be near them; a dog is shooed away with a "hutch" sound. A child is often seen making a pretense of throwing a stick or stone at a dog to keep it from coming nearer. When the dog stops barking or moves on, the child drops whatever it has and continues on its way. Older children or adults sometimes actually throw a stick or stone toward a dog to end its barking, but never aim it at the dog. In reality, everyone is kind to dogs. "We do not hit or kick a dog; a dog is man's protector. He protects the ruka and whatever is near it, such as sheep. He protects sheep from pumas too; pumas like to sneak into sheep corrals at night." A man going any distance on foot will take one or two dogs with him as a protection against pumas. To make a dog's bark sound ferocious, a pinch of chili is put into his food daily. Very rarely is a wild animal tamed and enjoyed as a pet; rabbits definitely never, as they are classed with rats; "not even their meat is eaten." 231 857

Schoolchildren aged 10 to 15 listed animals that talked either to them or to other animals, as dogs, cats, hens, roosters, chicks, turkey gobblers, young turkeys, geese, horses, foals, cows, sheep, and partridges. No child, however, knew what any of these animals said. Other animals that talked, but only to animals of their own kind, were turkey 824 857

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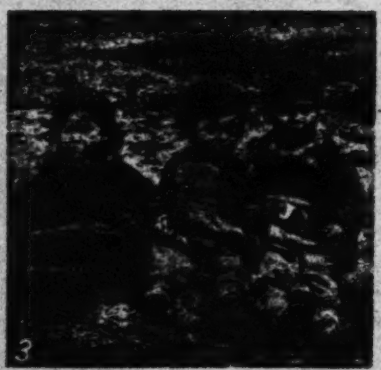

[526]

Araucanian children: 1, Bringing buckets of water from the spring (Pilpil). 2, Four-year-old boy playing with a two-wheeled toy made by his father (Trumpul). 3, Three children awakened from a nap to have their picture taken (Trumpul). 4, "Who are you?" (Pilpil.) 5, "I am winning this time!" (Pilpil.)

[p. 268(C)]

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to forty white beans, about the length of the first joint of the thumb from tip to knuckle, are split into halves and the flat side of each half blackened. A throw is spread on the ground, and players squat about it. An informant demonstrated the playing of the game. In the absence of beans, he took buttons from a sewing basket nearby, shook them loosely in his closed hand with fingers downward, saying, "Mariche, mariche, mariche" (10 persons, 10 persons, 10 persons).—He might have said, "Mari kachu, mari kachu, mari kachu" (20, 20, 20), or "Wewan, wewan, wewan" (I shall win, I shall win, I shall win), or a similar repetition of words.—Without warning he threw the buttons, with some force, upon the throw. The player wins and is awarded the stake when either all the blackened sides or all the white sides of the beans turn up simultaneously. Each player takes his turn. Large stakes formerly included several horses, silver parts of harnesses, and clothing. Today large stakes—rarely played for, however—are a horse, a pig, a sheep, a goat, several chickens, and, on rare occasions, a bridle, or a piece of homespun clothing such as a poncho. Usually today stakes are a bottle of wine, a package of yerba maté or something similar in value bought at a store. Formerly boys staked tops that were spun by hand, which were more highly prized than those spun by means of a cord. 525

A hockey game known as chueca (palin) is played today when a goodly number of people from different sections come together. Opposing teams of six or seven men play. Each player deals a common ball a blow with his hockey stick to get the ball either into the goal of his side or to keep it from the goal of the opposite side. Ground reserved for playing chueca is called lelfün in all areas except Malleo, where it is called palitun. 526 [184]

TOYS, IMITATIVE PLAY, PETS

No informant had had a real doll or even a semblance of one carved of wood or made of grass or rags. Play objects, when old informants were children, generally were things found about the place, such as sticks, stones, or insects, or those that children could make, like tops or miniature pieces of pottery "like my mother made." 857 524

Children, today, too, have few toys, if any. "When my children were babies I gave them a spoon to play with. When they were older they played around outside and amused themselves with whatever they found." A 30-year-old father, however, believed that children should have toys, and therefore he made a 2-wheeled toy (pl. 62, *2*) for his 4-year-old son, and also smoothed off a cow's knuckle for the boy for

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857 524 a traditional game known as kaʃnin—a game played by throwing the knuckle at a goal. The father remarked that an occasional older brother will make similar playthings for a younger brother. During an interview the 4-year-old boy amused himself for a short time in the house by playing kaʃnin. Tired of this, he spent a short time tossing the knuckle into the air and catching it. After that he ran out into the rain and kicked it like a ball through rain puddles. Neither his father nor his grandmother, both of whom were being interviewed, checked him, although it was raining considerably. Back in the house, he tossed the knuckle into the air again and in doing so got close to the hot stove. For this the grandmother scolded him. Continuing his tossing, he landed the knuckle near the interpreter, who then placed her foot on it. When he did not succeed in getting it out from under her foot, he stood still, looked at it, and waited patiently and quietly until she removed her foot. He took the knuckle then, but immediately dropped it and again ran out into the rain. This time he rode his 2-wheeled toy. Pretending he was riding a horse, he hit back of himself with a switch as do horseback riders who wish to speed up the horse.

857 I also saw children entertaining themselves by carrying younger children on the back, letting them drop off unexpectedly, thereby giving other children a hearty laugh (pl. 63, 3). Three girls, 4, 6, and 13 years of age, caught a dabano (a large buzzing insect), put it into a paper bag, blew into the bag to disturb the insect, and then listened with glee at the buzz it made each time it flew against the sides of the bag. To let the field assistant enjoy the buzz also, they held the bag near her ear.

A group of children and adults listening to an interview were much amused at the surprised look of a 1-year-old child that had caught its hand in a yerba maté cup. Later the grandmother, on whose lap the baby was sitting, entertained it by putting its hand in and out of the cup, tickling its stomach, pinching its cheeks and ears, and covering its eyes but letting it peek, off and on, at the other children present.

Schoolboys and their preschool brothers and sisters entertained themselves during an interview by painting red disks with berries of michai on each others cheeks, saying they wanted to look like the ladies in San Martín de los Andes. Two boys hurdled sand banks that they had built after mimicking galloping horses (pl. 62, 5). Their little sister stood by and watched them; the mother would not let her hurdle, as it was not the thing for girls to do.

857 231 Formerly, domesticated animals were not pets, but young orphaned rheas and guanacos were. "A man might kill a mother rhea," said